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The Jack Wills crowd: towards a sociology of an elite subculture

Abstract

British sociologists have long been interested in youth sub-cultures. However British sociologists have tended to focus on working class subcultures and avoided engagement with exclusive sub-cultures of elite social groups. This article seeks to attend to this gap by examining the subculture of a British elite: ex-public school students at select universities in the UK in the twenty-first century. This group consists of a relatively small group of young adults, aged between 18 and 23, who attended public schools, especially one of the nine Clarendon schools (Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylor's, Shrewsbury, Rugby, Harrow and Charterhouse), and were students at a selective group of British universities, primarily Oxford and Cambridge, Durham, Bristol, Exeter, Bath, Manchester, St Andrews and Edinburgh. The article examines the way in which this group has reconfigured and re-constituted itself in the face of globalizing challenges. Specifically, it examines the way in which participation of ex-public school students in events run by and under the patronage of the high street retailing company, Jack Wills, has played a galvanising role for this group in the last decade. The Jack Wills crowd is an example of how some young adults form exclusive social networks and reproduce prevailing forms of privilege. The social networks built around the Jack Wills subculture is likely to provide them with advantages in the job market through a prodigious network of connections and patrons. The Jack Wills subculture potentially contributes to the socio-economic reproduction of the higher professional middle classes.

Introduction

British sociologists have long been interested in youth sub-cultures (Hall and Jefferson 1975; Hebdige 1988a, 1988b; Cohen 1971). Yet, there is a striking omission in the existing canon. British sociologists have tended to focus on working-class subcultures and have avoided engagement with exclusive subcultures of elite social groups. There are some sound intellectual justifications for this focus: 'From my point of view', asserts Stanley Cohen, 'I do not think the middle class produces subcultures, for subcultures are produced by a dominated culture, not by a dominant culture' (cited in Jenks 2005: 126). In this view, subcultures are necessarily the result of processes of domination where alternative tastes and styles are used as weapons against the hegemonic culture of the dominant class; they are 'a response to a problematic which youth shares with other members of the "parent" class culture' (Hall and Jefferson 1975: 37). Dick Hebdige similarly defines subculture as 'the expressive forms and rituals of those subordinate groups – the teddy boys and mods and rockers, the skinheads and the punks – who are alternately dismissed, denounced and canonized' (Hebdige 1988a: 2).

Subcultures have, then, been closely associated with 'deviance' and the pre-fix 'sub' has usually been interpreted to mean not just minority but, specifically, subordinate and subversive. Yet, while it is true that many of the subcultures which have interested sociologists have been working class, there seems to be no empirical or theoretical reason to presume that subcultures must be found exclusively in subaltern social groups. Members of the Romantic Counter-Culture of the 1960s included many individuals from privileged backgrounds (Martin 1986), as do today's social movements, but it would be peculiar not to describe them as a subculture. Subculture does not necessarily have to refer to a marginalized, subordinate group but only to

a small, unified and culturally distinctive association. Indeed, Chris Jenks (2005) claims that the category 'subculture' has been of little analytical use. He recommends that instead of treating 'subcultural' groups as exempt from wider, mainstream society – as the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (BCCCS) did – we should be 'asking what it is about the "society" that we all live in that enables and motivates their particular form of conduct?' (Jenks 2005: 145). In short, there can be elite subcultures, consisting of individuals drawn from higher professional socio-economic groups, whose members generate exclusive lifestyles that include practices whose 'elitism' is itself marginal to the dominant culture. They could be the focus of sociological inquiry just as much as working-class groups. Following Jenks' suggestion, the role of the sociologist is to explain how and why they and their distinctive cultures have emerged.

This article is an attempt at such an endeavour. It examines the subculture of a British elite, which has been ignored by British sociologists and, perhaps, viewed with some suspicion by them: ex-public school students at select universities in the UK in the twenty-first century. This group consists of a relatively small group of young adults, aged between 18 and 23, who attended public school, especially one of the nine Clarendon schools (Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St Paul's, Merchant Taylor's, Shrewsbury, Rugby, Harrow and Charterhouse), and were students at a selective group of British universities, primarily Oxford and Cambridge, Durham, Bristol, Exeter, Bath, Manchester, St Andrews and Edinburgh. This student group consists of approximately 12,000 individuals, although a much smaller number of 1,000 might be described as actively enrolled in this lifestyle (see below).¹ Members of this group are the ethnically homogeneous, overwhelmingly (but not exclusively) white, sons and daughters of parents who work in the higher professions in the private and public sectors. A very small but symbolically important element of this group is the progeny of the surviving British landed gentry and genuine aristocracy. However, although the membership of the group is potentially diverse because of the range of parental occupations, it is unified by a common experience – public school – and family wealth is critical in creating the conditions for individuals to become members of this elite group simply because the fees to major, and especially the Clarendon, public schools are so high: typically £30,000 or more per year.²

The existence of a large cohort of public school students at British universities has been a long-standing fact. In the past, this group constituted an often loosely affiliated but distinctive and very prominent student subculture at British universities, variously identified (and disparaged) as 'Sloanes', 'Hooray Henrys', 'Wellies' or 'Toffs'. This group still exists, as do its various monikers, but it is evolving. The article examines the way in which this group has reconfigured and reconstituted itself in the face of globalizing challenges in the last decade. Specifically, this article examines the way in which participation of ex-public school students in events run by and under the patronage of the high street retailing company, Jack Wills, has played a galvanizing role for this group in the last decade. As we shall see, employing sophisticated strategies, Jack Wills has successfully attained an important mediating role in the lifestyle of this age cohort of the British social elite to accentuate the exclusive subcultural identity of these students. Through exploring the interrelation between Jack Wills and these students, this article aims to provide a sociology of an elite subculture.

As Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Stanley Cohen have shown, subcultures are sociologically interesting in and of themselves. They exemplify processes of micro-group formation, interaction and competition while also illustrating wider tensions and transformations within the social order from which they arise. This article focuses exclusively on a small group of British students. It seeks to explain the consolidation of an emergent subculture, mediated by

the brand Jack Wills. However, although great care needs to be taken, the material presented here has some potentially wider implications. In particular, although it cannot be proved here, it seems very likely that the members of the Jack Wills crowd will go on to take their positions in the higher professions to reproduce their parents' own advantaged class position. Consequently, although a deliberately circumscribed analysis of one particular subculture at a specific moment in time, the analysis presented here might be taken as a preliminary contribution to the question of class formation and reproduction, which following Thomas Piketty's intervention, is becoming ever more prominent in British sociology today. In 1977, through an ethnography of an inner city school, Paul Willis (1977) famously showed how 'working class kids get working class jobs'. Here, through an ethnography of elite British universities, we begin to suggest some of the mechanisms by which public school kids might get higher professional jobs.

The Research

The focus of this article is the Jack Wills crowd and its subculture. However, in order to understand the emergence of this group, it is necessary to gain some comprehension of Jack Wills, the retailing company, which has played a prominent role in mobilizing and uniting public school students in the current era. Peter Williams, the chief executive and founder of the company, created Jack Wills in 1999. The brand took shape in Williams' imagination after graduating from university:

When I started thinking about a premium brand, I dredged up this vision of what I remembered in Salcombe. What if you could create a brand that could bottle what being at a British university was all about and all the cool amazing stuff that goes with that? It's such a uniquely cherished part of your life. I thought if you could create a brand that epitomised that it would be very compelling (Williams, in Greene, 2011).

He explicitly identified elite public school youth as a potentially untapped market and sought to generate merchandise which resonated with their lifestyle. Peter Williams describes his brand as 'grounded in traditions of British aristocracy – riding coats, tweeds, tuxedos and tailcoats – and yet absolutely relevant to the cool young kids today' (Williams 2011). The origins of the company were modest but astute. Salcombe attracted Williams because it is a small, exclusive holidaying and yachting town in South Devon, with average house prices of half a million pounds and rents of £12,000 a week: 'Like Nantucket, Salcombe is a very expensive, beautiful place and also like Nantucket, the people who go to Salcombe are also very beautiful and very expensive people' (Williams 2011). At Salcombe, in an attempt to build up a reputation for his merchandise, Williams and his partner, Robert Shaw, bought a small shop in a prime location in the town. Initially, they had very little merchandise beyond T-shirts to sell but developed an effective marketing strategy. They identified key agents in the town who would promote their goods: 'Instead we found opinion formers in town ... the cool guys who worked on the ferry that took people to the beaches and the cool guys who worked the bar in town ... we begged, we persuaded, we bribed them to wear our stuff' (Williams 2011). As a result, Williams' products quickly became familiar with the holidaying set at Salcombe who were increasingly seen wearing his T-shirts. In this way, with a very dense but highly circumscribed and crucially exclusive set of connotations, a distinctive brand began to emerge. From there, Peter Williams identified key sites for his emergent customer base. He swiftly moved into elite university towns, notably Oxbridge and others in the Russell Group, opening shops in Exeter, Bristol and St Andrews. In each case, the location and decor of the outlets has been highly self-conscious. In Oxford, for instance, the Jack Wills' shop is located in an eighteenth-century building on High Street right in the centre of the university, next to

Brasenose and Lincoln Colleges and opposite a number of other well-known university clothing stores, such as Ede and Ravenscroft which is the official outlet for university and college wear. At Exeter, Jack Wills procured a grandiose Georgian neo-classical building directly opposite the Cathedral. In both cases, the shops were decorated to give the ambience of an English country home or a sixth form public school common room, including its torn posters of independent rock bands from the 1980s.

Crucially, Jack Wills did not confine its activities to the high street but strategically targeted exclusive sub-groups within these schools and universities, especially at high points of the social calendar at which members of Jack Wills' aspirant subculture might congregate; specifically Oxford and Cambridge skiing and polo matches (Goodman 2009; Soames 2010; Williams 2010, 2011; Greene 2011). Each season, Jack Wills sponsor the British Universities Snowsports Council's 'Main Event' week where they play host to parties and après ski; established in 2011, it was attended by about 1,500 university students from the UK in 2012 (Fieldnotes, 24–30 March 2012). Each summer they put on the 'Jack Wills Varsity Polo' which includes matches of Cambridge vs. Oxford, Eton vs. Harrow and Harvard vs. Yale at the historic and prestigious Guards Polo Club in Windsor Great Park (Berkshire). As an Oxford polo team member stated: 'we're [the polo team] seen as having that "image" they want to project' (Fieldnotes, 16 April 2012).

In fact, Jack Wills has worked hard to ensure that polo matches project the appropriate image and have become a critical site for subcultural mobilization; the company has reinvigorated the ritual. This ritual is a restoration of the Varsity polo match between Oxford and Cambridge dating back to 1879. This is the biggest Jack Wills event, beginning in 2007 with an attendance of about 700 to 1,000 and, growing under the company's aegis, to 7,000 to 8,000 in 2010 (Jack Wills Varsity Programme 2012). Indeed, Jack Wills have sought to displace existing donors, specifically EFG, Cambridge's sponsor, and to colonize these rituals through their own aggressive – but often surreptitious – patronage. The Jack Wills brand runs a 'brand strategy' which is premised upon seasonal activities and 'viral marketing', foregoing what brand CEO Peter Williams calls 'the promiscuousness of advertising relationships' and opting instead 'for very deep relationships with very small numbers of customers' (Williams 2011). For instance, at a league polo match, the Cambridge team (inappropriately) decided to wear Jack Wills shirts rather than their official EFG emblazoned strip. The chief executive of EFG, who was watching the game, had not noticed the error until he was informed: 'I thought you sponsored the polo team?' Realizing what had happened, he was furious at the slight (Fieldnotes, 16 April 2012).

Additionally Jack Wills organizes a 'Summer Seasonnaire' programme in which university students are hired by the brand to live in affluent seaside towns (Rock in Cornwall, Salcombe in Devon, Abersoch in North Wales, Burnham Market in Norfolk and Aldeburgh in Suffolk), where they put on beach and store parties, partake in life-style activities (notably, boating, fishing or sunning) and make promotional films. Peter Williams describes the Seasonnaires as: 'the British guys and girls who work in bars and chalets in the winter, and they bum around on the beach in the Summer' (Williams 2011). These events were supported by advertising videos consisting of authentic footage from the Varsity Match, the Summer Season, and the Après Skis. Additionally, Jack Wills has exploited social media and viral marketing to send signature hoodies to the head boys and head girls of British public schools and to the polo and ski teams in Oxford and Cambridge (Goodman 2009). From the earliest days in Salcombe in 1999 to the present, Jack Wills' marketing strategy has been clear. It has sought to infiltrate and colonize the social activities of a discrete cohort at key locations in the United Kingdom, especially on

dates of heightened importance in the social calendar. In this way, the brand has become associated and indeed imbued with the identity and activities of this key group.

Jack Wills' now intimate association with ex-public school students at elite universities recommends the company as an optimal site for the analysis of elite group formation and social closure in the twenty-first century. However, there are substantial difficulties in studying Jack Wills and its crowd. Precisely because Jack Wills has operated an informal and surreptitious marketing strategy aimed at generating and maintaining an elite and exclusive brand, it refused to participate in the research, despite repeated requests. Indeed, the company formally forbids any of its workers or Seasonnaires from talking about the company publicly. Without organizational consent, the research had to proceed informally through entry and participation in this subculture, introduction to the social networks of which it is comprised and the formation of informal relations with identified Seasonnaires and agents. It was necessary to establish relations with elite public school students at a selection of universities in the United Kingdom.

To this end, one of the authors (Smith) conducted interviews and fieldwork among these three seasonal activities over the period August 2010 to June 2013: attending polo games, the skiing trip which Jack Wills sponsored alongside the British University Snowsports Council (BUSC) and working with the brand's Summer Seasonnaires. In all, Smith attended and was in contact with five Jack Wills event sites: Jack Wills Campus Tour (2011), BUSC Main Event (2012), Jack Wills Varsity Polo (2012) and Seasonnaire programme in Rock (2011 and 2012). The ethnography was critical; it enabled Smith to develop a network of contacts within the Jack Wills crowd, to observe and participate in some of their social activities and, through a series of discussions, to gain an understanding of their own self-definitions. The analysis focused on the most significant and striking events which were observed during the fieldwork and sought to provide an explanation of them. Crucially, the fieldwork also allowed the interpretations to be tested and corroborated against further evidence.

Access was made through contact with sponsored societies and individuals involved with the brand's strategies but not those directly associated with the brand itself, initially through a contact who was a well-connected member of the group. Acting as a gatekeeper, this informant became the catalyst to the series of contacts that were made during 2012 and a way of gaining information and context around and about the seasonal activities Smith attended. This gatekeeper introduced Smith to individuals who were not Jack Wills Seasonnaires but who live and work in Rock for the summer. This way in produced an informal network of individuals associated with the Jack Wills crowd. From the contacts at Rock, it was possible to establish new links eventually into the Polo Clubs at Exeter and, finally, Cambridge universities. The link to Cambridge University Polo Club was important. Not only did it establish contact with a key informant for the Polo Club but it also enabled Smith to attend more games with Cambridge and also have them answer questions 'in the field', developing further informal ties and experience of the life world of this elite group.

From there, it was possible to collate a series of names and contacts and map them out as key agents in the Jack Wills network. With the exception of individuals named in Jack Wills' promotional literature and, therefore, already in the public domain, the names of informants have been anonymized or changed.

The multiple field sites were connected not just in terms of the lifestyle displayed by participants but through actual ties between individuals at each locale. For instance, the original informants from Cambridge and Rock did not accompany the researcher to Austria for the

BUSC Main Event (although they did go skiing in the French Alps). With its Jack Wills Seasonnaire sponsorship, the BUSC Main Event facilitated the development of more ties with other Seasonnaires, meeting and interviewing the head Seasonnaire, while gathering more contacts with those skiing. The skiing produced, throughout the week itself, a new set of contacts and expanded the information beyond the Exeter-Nottingham-Cambridge and Rock locale to Bristol-Edinburgh-Manchester students; these becoming key informants. On the basis of the trip, it was possible to develop a seasonal map. Not only did the information gathered further aid our understanding of the practice and meanings of the role Jack Wills plays in sponsorship but it also fostered more talking points with prior contacts, as information could be shared about common ties, and especially the Seasonnaires, who bridged the link between the Rock and the Austrian informants. Of course, as we shall see below, the BUSC Main Event also provided evidence about the micro-dynamics of group formation within the Jack Wills crowd.

In the end, the research involved close connections with 40 prominent individuals in this network (interactions with whom was recorded in fieldnotes), 18 of whom were formally interviewed. However, a much larger group of social acquaintances in the network was observed during the course of this research extending to up to 150 people (traced through mutual Facebook friendships). Clearly, the interviewees, informants and wider observed network represents a small part of the active Jack Wills network of 1,000 students and an even smaller proportion of the ex-public school cohort: respectively, 10 per cent and 1 per cent.

However, views and activities of this group can be taken as representative of this wider network. The individuals in the sample were all prominent members of this group, in core roles, such as Seasonnaires, or in important organizations, such as the Cambridge University Polo Club. They were knowingly acknowledged as leaders within these groups, the centre of wider social networks. Indeed, in the course of the research, their impressive social capital was repeatedly demonstrated; they were the organizers of this group and were plainly the central communicators. By following the actual social networks by means of introduction, it was possible to generate both data about this group and also to corroborate the group's membership and activities by engagement with linked participants at each of the locales.

Unlike recent attempts to utilize Bourdieu's arsenal of 'thinking tools' (capital, field and habitus) in empirical research on social class in Britain, our research design here is directed toward a qualitative micro-sociology plotting interactions, social practice and group formation over the short term rather than statistical reasoning. Savage (2014b) has suggested that elite studies require newer innovations in data capture, beyond ethnography, interviews and surveys, in favour of geodemographic software (Burrows and Gane 2006; Burrows 2013), social media aggregator software (Beer 2012; Savage et al. 2013) and administrative data (Piketty 2014). These methods, utilizing statistics to plot trends, highlight the acknowledged limitation of the research presented here; we do not suggest that the patterns of association and group formation presented in this article are generalizable or representative. Instead this article fills a gap in sociological knowledge on the cultural consequences, underpinnings and practices of elites within shifting patterns of economic position. A study of the Jack Wills brand and ethnographic observations drawn from its activities supplies sociology with a much-needed insight into the lifeworld of elite groups. Especially since this ethnography has involved access to an elite group and, in some cases, considerable hospitality and generosity from specific individuals, it is important to clarify the critical stance which has been adopted here. This article should not be read as an *ad hominem* attack on ex-public school students studied here, either individually or collectively; resentment or class anger did not inform this research and should not be read

into it. Rather, the work aims to document the reconfiguration of an exclusive subculture in British society disinterestedly in order to contribute to sociological understanding of elite groups and, ultimately, to class formation both empirically and conceptually. This article is critical in an analytical not moral sense and the subjects of the research are judged no differently than the treatment which would be accorded other individuals, of alternative ethnic or class background, in sociology more generally.

The dispersion thesis

It is clear that, while Jack Wills has been clever in its strategy, co-opting individuals and networks through the offer of gifts and access to entertainments and events, the participants in this new subculture have not been passive in this process. On the contrary, without their enthusiastic participation in a desirable youth lifestyle of elaborate carousing, sports and socializing, Jack Wills would be valueless. Yet, this group could and indeed would have continued its activities whether Jack Wills existed or not, as proceeding generations successively managed quite independently of a commercial company. Why have some students from public schools embraced the Jack Wills lifestyle so enthusiastically? The attendance at the Varsity polo match has increased ten-fold in the last decade, even though no more individuals actually play the game. The Varsity Ski Trip has also multiplied dramatically in size under Jack Wills sponsorship.

As Thomas Piketty has demonstrated, the economic position of the very wealthy, including the higher professions, from whom the Jack Wills crowd are descended, has substantially improved both in relative and absolute terms in the last thirty years. We live in a time which he calls ‘meritocratic extremism’, where inequalities rest upon ‘just’ claims to merit and skill (Piketty 2014: 416–18). However, despite the notable wealth of the upper class, in the last two decades, changes in higher educational policy and in the funding of British universities have inconvenienced this elite group as elite institutions have prioritized meritocracy and openness (Khan, 2011). These factors which have specifically affected higher education, disturbing long-standing patterns of socialization and interaction, have been central to the creation of the Jack Wills subculture. Specifically, since the 1990s and especially following the election of the New Labour government in 1997, university admissions policies have placed the old public school elite under considerable pressure. There have been some significant changes in the delivery of higher education as the sector has been liberalized and globalized.

In their work on public schools, Brooks and Waters have shown how these private establishments have been forced to internationalize in response to financial pressures while nevertheless disguising this process through the maintenance of a highly distinctive educational habitus (Brooks and Waters 2011, 2015). Similar dynamics are observable at British universities. Like public schools, universities, although still public institutions, have been radically and increasingly commercialized in the last two decades. One aspect of this commercialization has been the active attempt of universities to recruit international students and, above all, to exploit the current Chinese demand for Anglophone degrees (Waters, 2008). As a result, a significant proportion of undergraduates at British universities are now foreign and, indeed, in sharp contrast to the 1980s, Chinese. Many universities in Britain have simultaneously expanded their undergraduate numbers in order to increase their turnover, so that while the proportion of international students has increased, the absolute number of British students has often either remained stable or actually increased. The University of Exeter, which has been at the forefront of commercial developments over the last decade, is a good example of this process. In 2002, it had 9,047 undergraduates of whom 491 (5.4 per cent) were international; in 2013, it had 15,000 of whom 2,499 (16.7 per cent) were from overseas

(<http://www.exeter.ac.uk/about/facts/studentheadcountsummary/>). The pattern at Oxford and Cambridge is even more pronounced. Based on a college system and recognizing the importance of a distinctive student experience, these universities have not increased their undergraduate numbers in contrast to universities like Exeter: both universities have limited their undergraduate numbers to 12,000. Consequently internationalization has, in fact, reduced the proportion of British students at these elite institutions: 17 (2,142) and 11 per cent (1,300) of the undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge, respectively, are now foreign (<http://www.ox.ac.uk/admissions/undergraduate/international-students>; <http://www.undergraduate.study.cam.ac.uk/international-students>). Internationalization has had a material effect on students from public school backgrounds; there are simply less places for them at Oxford and Cambridge.

The internationalization of the British university has been compounded by domestic education policies. Since the 1990s, successive British governments, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and universities have themselves sought to widen access through a series of policies designed to favour non-public school entrants. Before the 1990s, ex-public school students used to congregate at a level of very significant density at Oxbridge. In the 1980s, Oxbridge recruited 70 per cent or more of their students from public schools, a significant absolute proportion from the Clarendon schools. In the early 1990s, 6 per cent of first-year undergraduates (233 students) from the Clarendon nine matriculated at Cambridge (Adonis and Pollard 1997: 56). The allocation of state-funded school accepted places at Oxbridge has dramatically increased: in 2011, 58 per cent of students offered places at Oxford were from state schools, as opposed to 42 per cent from private education (Vasagar 2011). At Cambridge, approximately 50 per cent of undergraduates are from non-public schools. Other elite universities have ratios which show a higher number of state-funded educated students: Durham has an intake of 59 per cent state-school, Bristol 60.2 per cent, York 80 per cent, Edinburgh 70.8 per cent and Exeter 70 per cent (*The Complete University Guide*, <http://www.thecompleteuniversityguide.co.uk/>). University has become increasingly open to the state sector.

The much trodden route from Clarendon School, to Oxbridge and into the high professions has been substantially disturbed; public schools students no longer coalesce so easily at Oxbridge but are geographically dispersed into a number of British universities. This shift is illustrated by the change in educational trajectory between two generations of royalty: the children and grandchildren of the Queen. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, both Prince Charles and Prince Edward attended Cambridge following their schooling at Gordonstoun in Scotland. Although their A-level results were never published, in neither case did the Princes strictly meet Cambridge's entrance requirements at that time; they were not unintelligent but known to be of relatively modest academic ability. They were accepted because they were the sons of the Queen and there was very little public controversy about this decision; it was regarded as natural and appropriate. Thirty years later in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Prince Charles's son and the heir to the throne, Prince William, having attended Eton College, did not even apply to Oxbridge. There was no possibility of him being accepted by either university unless it was on the basis of personal merit and since his grades were inadequate, he applied to and was accepted at St Andrews. Significantly, it was here that he met Katherine Middleton, a student from Marlborough, whom in a previous era might also have gone to Oxbridge. Prince William and Kate Middleton are, of course, exceptional cases but they demonstrate a wider process of elite group dispersion.

For the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, displacement from Oxford has not been an obvious disadvantage but for the public school cohort as a whole, the dispersal has generated certain problems. The universities, which these students attend, no longer have the easy familiarity of educational institutions in the 1980s; there is a huge diversity of new students especially from overseas who quite transform the atmosphere and culture of undergraduate study. Consequently, although a public school ethos still remains tangible at institutions like Oxbridge, Bristol, Durham, etc., the size of these groups has materially shrunk. The increasing intake of diverse backgrounds has marginalized the public school group in demographic terms; though they still remain very prominent on campus. Indeed, members of this group have become aware of the barriers which have been erected against them. This was evident to the writers of Channel 4's *Fresh Meat* where three Stowe School boys recount their exclusion from Cambridge as losing out to 'a Muggle on a scholarship', that is, a student from a comprehensive background. On the ground, the fieldwork suggested something less explicit but similar. While skiing one of the authors witnessed the meetings of multiple university students often asking 'what school did you go to?' as strategies for assessing a person's social distinction, the aim being to answer with a public school to judge social connection (Fieldnotes, 24 March 2012).

Jack Wills has played a crucial and timely role for this group at a time of globalizing disturbances. By instituting trans-university events which unite Oxbridge with a selection of elite universities in Britain, Jack Wills has provided an important service for this increasingly dispersed group. Jack Wills has become the self-conscious medium by which the youthful cohort of the higher professions has been able to reconstitute itself, even as it has been distributed across the university sector. The traditional location of Oxbridge as the site of condensation and concentration has been diminished to be replaced by the compensatory locale of the trans-university network, realized in heightened moments of communal gathering; the Jack Wills university tour, the Varsity Polo match, the Varsity ski match, the BUSC Main Event week and the summer Seasonnaire programme. Ironically, these elite events and attendant Jack Wills subculture have become a means by which the children of the higher professions have reasserted their collective group identity in a time of dislocation.

Ex-public school undergraduates have willingly participated with Jack Wills as a response to their increasing geographic dispersion around British universities. However, it is also important to recognize that the activation of this national undergraduate network has also been a necessary part of the Jack Wills' marketing strategy. Because of internationalization and widening participation policies, there are now too few students at Oxford and Cambridge to build a marketing strategy. On the basis of fieldwork, it is estimated that there are two to three hundred students at Oxbridge who might be classified as actively enrolled in the Jack Wills programme. For a company with national and international aspirations, this is simply not enough people, even for a brand which is as deliberately exclusive as Jack Wills.

Accordingly, Jack Wills has actively and consciously expanded its domain beyond Oxford and Cambridge to recruit ex-public school students studying at Russell group universities more widely.³ Although the same process of attrition is at work in this group, the cohort from elite public schools alone is significantly larger; big enough to generate a subculture. Indeed, Jack Wills recurrently reaffirms the existence of this wider trans-university network through a variety of marketing techniques. For instance, in its Oxford shop in October 2012, the autumn range was modelled against photographs of the Clifton Suspension bridge, reminding Oxford students of their Jack Wills colleagues at Bristol University. Immediately inside the shop was a notice board advertising a Jack Wills university tour around the UK in the coming weeks. Oxbridge undoubtedly remains an important symbolic resource for Jack Wills with its

evocative associations with *Brideshead Revisited* and British political and social elites but Jack Wills has also sought to animate a network of students outside Oxbridge on the basis of their schooling into a coherent, interconnected subculture.

In the last decade, there has been a meeting of social and commercial interests between the ex-public school students and Jack Wills, therefore. These ex-public school students, now substantially more dispersed than the past, have actively sought to create cross-university networks with their former school friends. Similarly, Jack Wills requires a larger core market than Oxbridge can currently provide; a national network of English undergraduates is actively in its interests as a commercial company. The result of this convergence of interests is that Jack Wills has been able to establish itself as a conduit for undergraduates from the social elite to maintain and indeed widen social relations with each other. Some of the techniques Jack Wills has employed to catalyse this elite group have been mentioned but it is worth exploring these methods in greater detail to gain an understanding of the mechanisms of elite subcultural formation.

Subcultural agents: the Seasonnaires

In Salcombe in 1999, Williams identified prominent agents – ‘cool guys’ – who could advertise his new products. His infiltration of the elite undergraduate scene has involved a similar strategy. He has created what he calls ‘Seasonnaires’. The Seasonnaires are a special type of ambassador, for the company does none of the formal advertising that is usually associated with commercial brands; television advertisements, billboards, posters, magazine inlays, etc. are all absent from the Jack Wills business model. Instead, all ‘advertising’ comes from the events the brand stages and the Seasonnaires, themselves, who play a decisive role in forging the customer-product link. As Greene (2011) says, ‘Events in the real world make the brand, which even sounds like a friend, into a companion for the good times’.

The Seasonnaires are normally university students, recruited either through working ‘in store’ or through friends of other, already working, Seasonnaires. For instance, Harry, the eldest and now no longer with the company, first entered into Jack Wills as a sales assistant in the store while at Oxford University in 2005. He later became a key player in the production of the Jack Wills Handbook, using his collegiate links with Oxford to establish photo-shoots in colleges, and then head up the American expansion in 2010/11. Indie, from Rock (Cornwall) in 2011, however, was not a university student but at the Wimbledon College of Art, studying a foundation degree, while working in the store and later decided to become a full-time Jack Wills Seasonnaire. Tom, the head Seasonnaire and head of UK Marketing at the time of research, was a student at Henley College (a sixth form college) who was spotted to model for the brand's Handbooks and then, later, headed up the marketing at head office. All the other Seasonnaires are current university students at provincial universities and have previously worked ‘in store’ (Fieldnotes, 4 May 2013).

Seasonnaires are, tellingly, certainly not all from Oxbridge but the company is highly selective in appointing individuals to be its agents; they have to have the correct appearance (physical attractiveness is almost a necessity), appropriate personality and deportment (they have to be energetic, outgoing and sporty) and, crucially, they have to have connections. Seasonnaires must already be part of the elite subcultural scene, which Jack Wills aims to infiltrate and patronize, so that the company's sponsorship seems authentic; indeed, the company prefers to employ local celebrities within this cohort. Both male and female Seasonnaires have a highly predictable appearance and character, therefore; they represent an ideal. Exploiting their existing social links into the public school cohort, the Seasonnaires perform three crucial

functions for Jack Wills. First, they themselves wear special Jack Wills merchandise so that the company becomes associated with their lifestyles. Secondly, Seasonnaires are given a 'stash' of free and often limited edition Jack Wills merchandise which they gift to their friends and acquaintances in their networks in the course of social events. The gifting process further allows Jack Wills to infiltrate the life world of this group and to mediate its activities. Finally, Seasonnaires organize social events at universities or on the Ski Trip or, in the case of major established events like the Polo, they act as focal points and catalysts for the socializing, accentuating Jack Wills' sponsorship in order to connect this group with the company.

In 2012, there were 13 Seasonnaires dispersed around UK universities: these universities included Warwick, Leeds, Manchester, Loughborough, Oxford Brookes, Bristol, Edinburgh, University of the West of England and Nottingham Trent. In each case, these Seasonnaires were from wealthy, public school backgrounds; one being a descendant from a 1920s Conservative baronetage. These individuals form an intricate network in Britain and, in their activities, keep the image of the brand intact. The use of Seasonnaires fits Jack Wills' exclusive marketing strategy or, as Lucie Greene (2011) of the *Financial Times* calls it: a 'non-marketing strategy'. The Seasonnaires are ambassadors of the brand, technically speaking, but in reality they are friends, or establish friendships, with people through the corporate name. Indeed, Peter Williams has stated that 'our whole philosophy was word of mouth. I say was, it still is word of mouth'. Word of mouth is a central technique because it restricts access to the inner circle of the Jack Wills subculture, ensuring that any would-be participant is vetted by existing members. Jack Wills does not operate as a company for this group; it is a club.

Seasonnaires play a crucial role in disseminating Jack Wills through exclusively personal interaction. Indie, a Seasonnaire from Rock (2011), summarized their duties:

'University Seasonnaires' are on full time salary, work around one day a week in the store, are given a clothing allowance to wear on campus and around the university town. They're 'go to people' on campus. They're able to be the people in the know so, like when the brand show up, they can tell them where is good to go or what is a good student night. (Fieldnotes, 3 December 2012)

The efforts of establishing a nexus of relations up and down the UK was part of an initiative to establish a university age-set relationship and embed the brand (Williams 2011). In 2010, Tom typically picked them up in the signature Jack Wills Defender and, during the period of March–April, they visited campuses (Durham, Nottingham, Exeter, Leeds, Manchester, Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh). There they would dispense gifts and gain contacts through a series of night-club events and invitation breakfasts. This led to further social evenings but, also, relied heavily upon *ad hoc* friendships within the group.

Seasonnaires play a particularly important role at major events, like the Varsity Polo but, above all, the BUSC Main Event Ski Trip which is the only organized residential in the entire year. It represents a critical opportunity for mobilizing this group and energizing the social networks of which it consists. Here Seasonnaires are crucial in coordinating activities and germinating new social relations across students groups. To this end, the Seasonnaires organize a number of exclusive Jack Wills parties in the course of the Ski Trip to which they covertly invite selected individuals whom they have identified as potential group members. In many cases, these individuals are already friends or have been made known to them through existing friendship networks. During these parties, attendees will typically be presented with special Jack Wills merchandise as gifts which identify them as one of the elect for the rest of the week. The presentation of these gifts co-opts these individuals, altering their status from informal

participant in a loose friendship circle into the designated members of a self-conscious cabal. Jack Wills' sponsorship and the action of the Seasonnaires fundamentally alters – and formalizes – group formation in this subculture, drawing firm boundaries and instituting formal status hierarchies where, in the past, the lines were blurred, unstated and informal. However, the incorporation of these individuals into a new elite locale charges up Jack Wills merchandise with precisely the exclusive and elitist meanings on which the brand relies.

The micro-processes of group formation were illustrated most brutally during the Ski Trip in 2011. On this Ski Trip, there had been very significant tension between the Jack Wills crowd, primarily interested in socializing, and other students, committed to serious skiing, who felt aggrieved by the discriminatory practices of the Seasonnaires. The Seasonnaires organized divisive parties to which only selected students, demonstrating the appropriate public school habitus or who were already known to the Seasonnaires, were invited. During the course of the week, a group of these students stole some Jack Wills T-shirts on which they screen-printed the logo: 'because every toff needs a uniform'. They displayed these T-shirts at a Jack Wills-sponsored après-ski party, which they knew many of the Jack Wills crowd would be attending. Descending the lift after the party, one of these anti-Jack Wills students verbally criticized Jack Wills, complaining about the merchandise and the divisive effect of the Seasonnaires' activities on the holiday. As they left the lift when it reached the final station, an ex-Seasonnaire, who happened to be in the lift, reacted to this slight by punching the student in the face (Fieldnotes, 28 March 2012). The incident was a minor fracas but it usefully highlights the deliberately exclusivist policies of Jack Wills and their social effects. The Seasonnaires actively seek to create special status groups which they seek to defend and isolate from outsiders. The incident in the lift was unusual only because the Seasonnaire felt obliged to resort to violence to protect Jack Wills and its crowd. The strategy of exclusion is central to the Jack Wills' subculture.

The Seasonnaire programme has facilitated the formation of a localized network but, also, it has a crucial role of limiting the expansion of the group – in order to maintain elite exclusivity. In 2012, Tom (name changed), the head Seasonnaire and Head of UK Marketing, organized the university Seasonnaires into groups of ten and then divided them into seasonal locations pairs. Thus, he placed two Seasonnaires in Rock, four in Salcombe, two in Abersoch, two in Burnham Market and two in Aldeburgh. The number of ties that two Seasonnaires accrue in a season is around twenty persons. At an aggregate level, this gives the Seasonnaires a close friendship network of about a hundred individuals. From this core group, a wider group is generated through a series of weak(er) but still monitorable ties (Granovetter, 1973). The Seasonnaires are employed to mobilize an intense but exclusive network across the youth cohort across selected British universities, bringing together and sustaining ex-public school students in an elite form of socializing.

Colours

So far, this article has discussed only the micro-social personal networks which have been facilitated by Jack Wills across elite universities. These are certainly central to understanding the constitution of this group of students as an elite subculture. However, there are obvious limitations to personal networks. They are, of necessity, restricted to face-to-face acquaintances and, therefore, the active networks of even the most successful social actors are limited to dozens rather than hundreds of people. In order for the Jack Wills crowd to operate as a social group and to crystallize itself as a class, it is necessary to incorporate individuals who are not known personally to the leaders in this field and for members of this would be class to recognize themselves self-consciously as a unified group: not simply a loose social association based on

personal ties. Clearly, events, and above all the Varsity Polo Match, play a critical role here in coalescing network associations into a coherent group – and a class. However, rather than analysing the general effects of these events, it is useful to focus on one specific strategy which Jack Wills has developed to unify this nascent group and which feature prominently in social events, like the Varsity Polo: namely, the use of colours. The creation of a Jack Wills subculture in the UK relies on the enrolling of students across the UK who have been to public school and whose experience of elite private education is identified as a critical resource and reference point in interactions at university. The question for Jack Wills, then, is what symbol would most efficiently mobilize public school memories among students to bind them together and which could itself be inscribed on or attached to all merchandise in order to code it with this significance. As a company insignia, Jack Wills has adopted a jaunty strutting pheasant which is embossed on many of their clothes. As a game bird, the emblem signifies the aristocratic and rural background of its core constituency but partly because of its size and the fact that it cannot be used on all products, it is not the prime symbol for Jack Wills. It is here that colours became critical to the Jack Wills programme and to the creation of a subculture. Jack Wills' colours are highly distinctive and are a central part of its marketing strategy. These colours are not accidental. On the contrary, they have been carefully developed in order to maximize their emotive significance and their ability to enrol students into this would-be subculture. In particular, the Jack Wills colour-scheme is explicitly drawn from elite culture and specifically from public schools; they are drawn from a palate of tones which their student target group will recognize and for whom these colours are already deeply meaningful (Taussig 2008, 2009; Young 2011; Eaton 2012).

For instance, during the Summer Seasonnaire programme, the Jack Wills Seasonnaires deploy colours overtly in their marketing practice. During the 2011 programme in Rock, one informant noted the important use of fly-ering to generate interest and celebrity for the brand in the locality. The pattern is for the Jack Wills Seasonnaires to enter localities with a distinctive pink and blue Land Rover, utilizing the attention its presence attracts to disseminate flyers, promotional material and giving free gifts to those with whom they solicit relations (Fieldnotes, 7 March 2012). One informant illustrated this when, discussing the process of friendships through gifts, he amusingly spoke of the fascination with the pink Jack Wills party pants which were given free to all friends of the Seasonnaires (Fieldnotes, 14 March 2012). They were perfect for beach parties and the convivial hedonism for which Rock has become famous (see Bloomfield and Anderson 2005); they were also key markers to these informants' wider, cross-country and trans-Atlantic Jack Wills Seasonnaires. The significance of these colours goes beyond the marketing practice of the brand. Rather it has strong sociological consequences for the group employed by Jack Wills.

Specifically, Jack Wills' colours are particularly effective not simply because they are bright but because of their association with public school. During the nineteenth century, the Clarendon schools, as part of a programme of modernizing reforms instituted by Thomas Arnold at Rugby, introduced school colours to distinguish themselves (Weiner 1985). These schools selected colours from a narrow spectrum in the period 1830–60 (Brinsley-Richards 1883: 228; Webster 1937: 354, 323). Indeed, myths have developed about the origins of these school colours, one of the most well-known of which is Westminster School's adoption of a highly distinctive pink; at that time, pink had classical and Corinthian associations which the emergent *haute bourgeoisie* found deeply attractive – it is only more recently that the colour has assumed a rather different political meaning.⁴

Tradition has it that in those days [1800s] Westminster cricketers wore straw hats with light blue ribbons, flannel jackets and white trousers; but, apparently, Eton also favoured light blue and there is a persistent tradition that Westminster rowed Eton for the choice of colour and, upon losing the race, adopted pink. In support of this legend it may be pointed out that Westminster have taken pink for their colours ever since they first sported them in their race against Eton in 1837. ... Nine races, however, were rowed between 1829 and 1847, of which Eton won five and Westminster four. The most memorable was that of 1837. Westminster then finally adopted pink for their colours. (Webster 1937: 354, 356)

Although it is not always easy to reconstruct the precise ways in which the Clarendon Schools adopted their specific colours (and, in fact, Westminster School today claims it won the right to wear pink from Eton), they quickly became institutionalized as a central element of these institutions' corporate identities. These colours also became entangled in an honours system whereby sporting achievement was marked by 'getting colours' (Wakeford 1969: 125). Those who played for a first team at Westminster earned their 'full pinks'. By the mid-Victorian period, Clarendon school colours formed a self-referential Saussurian system of differences, where the colours of each of these elite schools were invested with special meaning simply by their opposition to a rivals'.

Significantly, public school colours correspond closely with the colours of the Jack Wills clothes (see Table 1). Colour is no longer 'blue' or 'pink' but rather Eton blue or Westminster pink. In this way, colour indexes social position (Fine et al. 1998) and becomes part of the Jack Wills crowd's 'iconic consciousness', that is, 'when an aesthetically shaped materiality signifies social value... [and] transmits meaning' (Alexander 2008: 782).

Table 1. Clarendon school colours and Jack Wills clothes

Clarendon schools	School colours	Jack Wills items with same colour scheme (c. 2010) (one example of each)
Eton	Light Blue	Forstal Rugby
Winchester	Blue, Brown, Red	Nye Nevis Shirt
Westminster	Pink	Hinckley Oxford Shirt
Charterhouse	Pink, Blue, Maroon	Ibberton Striped Rugby
St. Paul's	Black, White	Castleton Rugby
Merchant Taylors	Black, White	Castleton Rugby

Clarendon schools	School colours	Jack Wills items with same colour scheme (c. 2010) (one example of each)
Harrow	Blue, White	Yateley Rugby
Rugby	Blue, White, Green	Crakehill Rugby
Shrewsbury	Blue, White	Forstry Rugby

By mimicking public school colours established in the nineteenth century, Jack Wills has invented a heritage for itself while attracting students who instinctively respond to the company's colour schemes. They remind these individuals of school. Indeed on one occasion when getting ready for a night drinking, an informant stated that the researcher (Smith) should wear a Jack Wills tie for the evening because: 'The only good thing about Jack Wills are their colours' (Fieldnotes, 21 May 2011). While a minor comment, the colour schemes of pink-and-purple on the Jack Wills tie act as metonymical devices for cultural belonging, standing in for the 'old school tie' in the contemporary period. However, Durkheim has demonstrated how even the most potent symbols dwindle without periodic re-energization in the collective ritual: 'social sentiments can only have a precarious existence without symbols' (1976: 231) but symbols themselves must be periodically vivified by collective acts of affirmation. Jack Wills' colours are no different; their power resides not just in their past connotations but in their continual reaffirmation in contemporary moments of collective effervescence. The Varsity Polo match which occurs every June at the Guards Polo Club has been a decisive ritual for Jack Wills, allowing the company to re-imbue its colours – and its merchandise – with meaning. Indeed, the management of the company are well aware of this function. Ostensibly a sporting event, under Jack Wills' stewardship, the Varsity match has in fact become a means of advertising; the brand is reinvested with significance.

Colours are central to the day and the multiple connotations of school colours is reinvigorated with new associations around the polo. Naturally, the attention throughout the day is focused on the polo teams culminating with a ceremonial prize-giving of trophies, Jack Wills' gift-bags and a memorial Varsity shirt handed to them by CEO Peter Williams. Significantly, the branded gift-bags (which include exclusive catalogues, gift vouchers), the uniform they adorn and the banners they stand under are all brightly coloured in Jack Wills' classical tones. Indeed, the whole day becomes a fashion parade in which spectators parade their often outrageous costumes. In contrast to drab colours of the Sloane Ranger phenomenon of the 1980s (York and Barr 1982), the Jack Wills' aesthetic is youthfully daring, echoing the preference of nineteenth-century public schools for gaudy colours like, the now commonly disfavoured, pink. The current era has seen an explosion of colourful garb for the upper middle class, a central facet being coloured trousers and blazers, which are very evident at the Varsity Day. Yet, although collectively the spectacle involves a bewildering range of hues, it quickly becomes clear that the colours are not unlimited in choice; and neither are they a haphazard mix with no pattern. The bright colours preferred by the participants subtly connote the colours of the public school, such as pink blazers evoking Charterhouse and Westminster, or the blue blazers of Eton and Oxbridge.

Conclusion

This article has explored the way in which the young adults from wealthy backgrounds in the United Kingdom have reconfigured themselves as a new and exclusive subculture, in the light of changes in the structure of higher education. Ironically, despite un-ignorable cultural transformations which have delegitimated elitism in the United Kingdom and extensive government policies especially at the level of higher education to open access to less privileged students, an elite subcultural reaction is observable among the school-leaving cohort. This elite has actually reinscribed, affirmed – even intensified – the exclusivity of its status group lifestyle. Clearly, the Jack Wills crowd enjoys a unique and privileged position in British society. However, the emergence of a Jack Wills subculture has, perhaps surprising, parallels with other groups across the social hierarchy. For instance, in the face of the radical commercialization of their football club, Manchester United fans intensified their local social networks, invested the city of Manchester with ever greater significance and adopted distinctive designer clothes to differentiate themselves from new consumer fans (King 1998, 2000, 2003). They stopped wearing club colours and reinscribed their fan practice with masculine values disparaged in the new consumption of football. They generated a quite different sense of exclusive social locale from the Jack Wills crowd and adopted quite different styles and colours. Yet, their compensatory strategies were not wholly alien to one another. This article is not, then, a moral castigation of these privileged young people but an attempt to dissect the way in which they, like every other group, has responded to the challenges and opportunities afforded and, indeed, demanded by globalization.

The analysis of this elite subculture is, it is hoped, interesting and valid in its own right, illuminating an often ignored aspect of contemporary Britain. However, while the data presented here can never ultimately support the case, the analysis of the Jack Wills crowd has potentially deeper sociological significance. It suggests an account of class reproduction in contemporary British society. This is a question which has come once again to the fore with the publication of Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty First Century* (2014a) and Mike Savage's *Social Class in the 21st Century* (2015). However, despite its evident importance for sociology as the 2014 *BJS* special issue showed, there is an obvious lacuna in Piketty's own work. Piketty brilliantly documented how the accumulation of economic wealth distinguishes 'the rich' – the 10 or 1 per cent – from others. Yet, this statistical distinction does not explain how individuals of equal socio-economic standing forge a sense of their own self-consciousness as a distinct group so that they can monopolize opportunities and positions for themselves at the expense of others. He documents rising inequality but does not actually explain class formation and collective action. The challenge of Piketty's analysis is to rethink modes of social closure and exclusivity in order to explain how a new social group – which might, perhaps, be called a 'class' – has coalesced around the opportunities offered by globalization (Savage 2014a, 2014b). This article cannot claim to answer this question of class formation definitively; it does not attempt the sweeping structural and historical analysis forwarded so impressively by Piketty. It lacks the longitudinal data to make such a claim. However, it seems highly likely that the educational and financial advantages which the Jack Wills crowd already enjoy ensure that the overwhelming majority will replace their parents at the very top of the socio-economic hierarchy. If this is the case, then, implicitly, this article identifies – but does not prove – a process of generational class reproduction, addressing the processes central to Piketty's work but under-explored by him. The Jack Wills crowd is not only an interesting contemporary example of how some privileged young adults form exclusive social networks but this subculture also suggests ways in which members of this group will ensure they reproduce their parents' position, so that in turn, their privately educated children

are able to attend elite British universities. The social networks built around the Jack Wills subculture is likely to provide them with advantages in the job market through a prodigious network of connections and patrons. The Jack Wills subculture potentially contributes to the socio-economic reproduction of the higher professional middle classes.

Notes

- 1 In 2011, the number of students taking A-levels and potentially entering university was approximately 300,000 (*The Telegraph* 2012); 102,002 came from independent schools (ISC 2011, www.isc.co.uk), of which about 4,000 were from the Clarendon Nine. Incorporating the school leavers from the Clarendon School dramatically increases the number of potential Jack Wills' recruits at British universities (without any loss of exclusivity) from perhaps 1,000 at Oxbridge to 4,000 a year in the Russell group as a whole, therefore. Consequently, there is a group of elite ex-public school students of about 12,000 ex-public schools students (4,000 students in each of the three undergraduate years) in the United Kingdom which might be described as potentially part of the Jack Wills crowd. However, of this 12,000, a genuine cultural vanguard of perhaps 500 to 1,000 activists with extensive networks can be identified as the Jack Wills crowd.
- 2 Fees calculated from per term figures found at (a) Harrow school website: <http://www.harrowschool.org.uk/1571/admissions/fees-and-charges/> and (b) Eton College website: <http://www.etoncollege.com/currentfees.aspx>.
- 3 Jack Wills has also recruited Seasonnaires outside the Russell group, notably at institutions like the University of the West of England or Oxford Brookes which are collocated in cities with elite universities. The inclusion of a small number of new universities in their target group should not be interpreted as a popularizing strategy by the company.
- 4 It is noticeable that Juventus Football Club originally wore pink shirts until, on a tour of Britain in the 1920s, they adopted the black and white strip of Notts County.

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